

Gandhi Triumphant!

THE INSIDE STORY OF
THE HISTORIC FAST



MAHATMA GANDHI, *the embodied soul of India*

My life has been made up of numerous occasions of fasting. It is the sincerest form of prayer.

—MAHATMA GANDHI



MAHATMA GANDHI *the embodied soul of India*

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

An Open Letter to Lloyd George

Gandhi the Apostle

India's Non-Violent Revolution

Peshawar Men Versus Machine Guns

The Story of Peace Negotiations

The Round Table Conference

Gandhi Versus the Empire

The United States of India

GANDHI'S Sermon on the Sea, edited

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

'Gandhi specializes in giving up, in reducing his wants, his recreation is fasting and making his disciples fast. He looks so physically frail and weak and small that one could carry him as one does a child, and he makes one feel that toward him. He is as serious as any child, and as pure. All this has captured India. One does not feel it blasphemous to compare him with Christ, and Christ, too, one suspects, gave infinite trouble to reasonable and respectable followers. For Gandhi is a philosophic anarchist—a new edition of Tolstoy's past, and a Tolstoy who has long since subdued Nature and shunk into simplicity."

Since this remarkable tribute was paid to Mahatma Gandhi by Col. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., in the early days of the non-cooperation movement (1919-1920), much water has flowed in the Ganges. During the last two decades Gandhi has grown in spiritual stature a hundredfold and captured the whole world. The Mahatma is a living symbol of Oriental

philosophy which, in his own words, says.

Not a multiplicity of wants, but a renunciation of wants, constitutes the true criterion of civilization " One does not expect the Occidental world *overnight* to revise its textbooks on economics, to modify its culture-patterns, to walk in the footsteps of the Teacher of Galilee One may, however, confidently predict that unless this revision, this modification, is brought about, we shall have wars and rumors of war, armaments and rearmaments, dissensions and jealousies, hatred and ill-will between nations

Of the innumerable fasts which are an integral part of the Mahatma's life, four stand out as the most significant, as makers of history (1) The Great Fast," September 16-October 6, 1924, the first twenty-one day fast, undertaken by Gandhi to melt the hearts of Hindus and Muslims, to call upon them to desist from internecine fighting (2) The "Epic Fast," the first fast 'unto death' September 20-26, 1932, undertaken by Gandhi as a protest against Premier MacDonald's "communal award" (3) The Self Purification Fast" of twenty one days, May 8-29, 1933, undertaken as a protest against the sluggishness of

PREFACE

orthodox Hinduism in combatting untouchability. What four years of Civil War achieved in the United States of America was accomplished in India by Gandhi's fasting for twenty-one days—the emancipation of the underprivileged. (4) The "Historic Fast," the second fast "unto death", March 3-7, 1939, has even as I am writing, firmly laid the foundation of what I have been fondly calling **THE UNITED STATES OF INDIA.**

To three compatriots I am indebted for valuable help—to Miss Bhicoo Bathivala and Dr. Anup Singh for proof-reading and for suggestions, to Mr. Satya N. Mukerji for preparing the index at short notice.

Mahatma Gandhi ki Jail Victory to Mahatma Gandhi!

Haridas T. Muzumdar

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CHAPTER I

GANDHI TRIUMPHANT!

MAHATMA GANDHI! His very name is a benediction. Garbed in a loincloth, the ascetic leader of India has packed into his life of three score and ten such thrilling experiences, such significant experiments with Truth, as would serve the needs of mankind for a hundred generations.

This wisp of a little man has been plying with the British Lion on the one hand and with Death on the other. Over and over again, the Mahatma has demonstrated the triumph of mind over matter, of Soul Force over Brute Force. Boundless love for suffering humanity, genial flashes of wit, sweet gentleness and pohteness remain the unfailing hallmark of Gandhi's personality regardless of the complexion of outer circumstances. Be it war or peace, be it a festival or a fast, the Mahatma remains serene and unperturbed, beyond the emotional attachments of the moment, *dedicated to the service of mankind without expectation of reward*.

On a rustic cot on the verandah of a Hindu dwelling, screened from the broiling sun of India and from the admiring gaze of his followers who gathered nearby to pray, there lay the embodied soul of India, the greatest man living in the world today, bald, clad in a loin-cloth, bespectacled

At noon on the 3rd of March, 1939, Gandhi, the storm center of Hindese¹ politics for a generation and a half, went on a fast "unto death" because the Thakore, the ruling chieftan, of Rajkot (area: 282.4 sq miles, pop. 75,540), broke a pledge, solemnly given to his subjects and to (Sardar) Vallabhbhai Patel, Gandhi's lieutenant, to inaugurate constitutional reforms and to introduce self-government in that tiny State of Kathiawar.

"Even if it means the loss of my life, which, after all, at the age of 70 has no insurance value, I should be most willing to give it in order to secure the due performance of a sacred promise God gave me this remedy to end the agony of the Rajkot subjects. The decision has cost me a night's rest." Thus spoke the Mahatma to the United Press correspondent a short time after his fast 'unto death' had commenced

Who, pray, is the villain of the piece? Let us not misjudge anybody—let the facts reveal the truth:

(1) All through the year 1938 a great awakening took place in Hindese States and strong agitation was carried on by the States' subjects for the introduction of responsible government (2) Rajkot, along with a few other States, had to bear the brunt of constitutional agitation for reforms and self-government (3) Some States, including Rajkot, met the popular demand for self-government with repression—thereby repeating the story of the British Raj in the past two decades

(4) The Thakore of Rajkot, "a worthless ruler" in the words of the British-controlled journal, THE STATESMAN of Calcutta, was surrounded by incompetent, self-seeking administrators (5) The policy of repression was strongly condemned by the Dowager Queen, the Thakore's mother, it likewise earned the Thakore the ill-will of his subjects (6) To ease the situation His Highness the Thakore secured, through the good offices of the British Resident, the services of Sir Patrick Cadell as Prime Minister (7) The situation not improving, H H the Thakore in-

ited for a conference Mahatma Gandhi's lieutenant, Mr Vallabhbhai Patel, President of the Parliamentary Board of the All-India National Congress

(8) The Patel-Thakore pourparler resulted in an agreement (December 26, 1938) which stipulated. (a) general amnesty and withdrawal of repressive measures by the Thakore, (b) cessation of agitation by the people, (c) creation of a committee of 10 to investigate and report upon a scheme of reforms giving 'the widest possible powers' to the people, (d) assurance by the Thakore that the Committee's report, to be submitted by the end of January, 1939, would be 'considered and given effect'

ating the terms of the previous agreement (see Appendix H).

(11) The Princes, though under the iron heel of the British Resident, were through shortsightedness desperately anxious to prevent Rajkot from setting a precedent in the orderly devolution of power from the Prince to the people *under the aegis of the Congress* (see Chapter VI, "Kicks and Kisses") (12) The British Raj, on its part, was likewise anxious to maintain its *prestige*, to spoonfeed the Princes, to maintain them on their thrones (gadis) with British bayonets, to reserve them as props to the shaky foundations of the empire in India—these policies of the British Raj have resulted in an orgy of persecution in a number of Hindese States

(13) The repudiation of the Patel-Thakore agreement is not the act of a wilful Prince—it is an exhibition of the British Lion's claws

(14) 'The struggle,' commented Gandhi early in February, 1939, "is not between the ruler and his people, but in reality it is between the Congress and the British government represented by the Resident "

(15) Mahatma Gandhi promptly accepted the challenge hurled at the Congress by the

British Raj, Mrs Gandhi courted imprisonment in Rajkot on the 3rd of February, 1939
(16) The fast "unto death" is one of the weapons in the arsenal of the non-violent warrior designed to convert the wrong-doer

(17) Rajkot has become a test case for supremacy between the British Raj and the Hindese Congress (18) Viceroy Linlithgow's intervention in the Rajkot affair, at Gandhi's instance, is tantamount to the transfer of suzerainty over the States from the British Raj to the Hindese Raj, to the United States of India, which is in process of evolution (see my forthcoming book **THE UNITED STATES OF INDIA**)

(19) Gandhi has served the British people well by helping them to realize the enormity of the empire system. Now his healing ministry is converting autocratic Hindese Princes from the ways of tyranny and oppression to the ways of constitutional, limited monarchy

(20) With Rajkot as a wholesome precedent establishing the sovereignty of the people, the Congress may serenely accept Federation, knowing full well that the transformation of autocratic States into self-governing

States on a par with the Provinces is but a matter of time.

Indeed, the ultimate significance of Gandhi's fast "unto death" against Rajkot was precisely to determine (a) how amenable the Princes could be to popular demands for self-government and (b) what stand the British Raj would take in the contest for supremacy between a Prince and his subjects.

All is well that ends well! The principle of the people's sovereignty has been vindicated. All glory to Mahatma Gandhi! May he soon recuperate and be restored to full strength! Praised be the Lord for His mercies and for the grace shown by Him to our Saint and Martyr!

CHAPTER II

BRITISH RAJ & HINDESE STATES

THE status of Hindese States vis-a-vis the British Raj has undergone many changes in the course of the last 175 years— (a) independent sovereign States; (b) technically vassal states of the Mogul Empire, actually independent; (c) overlords of the British East India Company; (d) allies of John Company; (e) feudatories of the British Raj; (f) semi-independent states existing by the grace of British bayonets. Since the days of the World War the British have been making attempts to construe the status of Hindese Princes as rulers in direct relationship with the British Crown, i.e., beyond the pale of the nationalist government, of the Hindese Raj, that will soon be administering affairs at the Center as it is today doing in the Provinces.

The linking of the Hindese Princes directly with the British Raj implies the creation of a recalcitrant India within the confines of Mother India. The attempt is foredoomed to

frustration. Either the Princes live as constitutional monarchs as parts of the integral federal structure of The United States of India of the morrow, or out they go. There is no half-way house between the two alternatives.

The direction in which the wind is blowing may be judged from a brief recital of relevant events during the past twelve months. I lift the following paragraphs from my forthcoming book **THE UNITED STATES OF INDIA**, now in the press:—

Early in February, 1938, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar (Iyer), Dewan-President of the Assembly in the State of Travancore, belabored the point that the introduction of constitutional government in a Hindese State was contingent upon the consent of the Paramount Power, that in fact there were so many intricate problems involved that it was almost impossible for the Princes to part with their share of "sovereign" power to their own people.

In reply to a question on the Travancore Dewan's statement by Capt. F. F. Heilgers in the House of Commons, February 21, 1938, Earl Winterton, on behalf of the Under Secretary of State for India, stated:

"I have seen a report of the statement. It is not the policy of the Paramount Power in ordinary circumstances to intervene in the internal administration of full-powered States. In particular I can assure my Honorable and Gallant Friend (Capt Heilgers) that the Paramount Power would certainly not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance by the ruler. The consent of the Paramount Power has not been required before such advances have been approved by various Princes, nor, so far as I am aware, has it been sought in such matters. The Paramount Power would, in ordinary circumstances, confine itself to tendering advice when consulted."

One cannot help admiring the British for their polished, diplomatic language. On the surface, this statement is inconsequential. In reality, in terms of its full import, it is as epoch making as the "pronouncement" of August 20, 1917, which, incidentally, was also made in a casual fashion by Mr. E. S. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, in reply to an interpellation.

The sum and substance of the Winterton statement is simply this—that, henceforth, the States can no longer resist popular demands

for constitutional reforms in their administration by vague references to the hindrances put in their way by the Paramount Power. That the Paramount Power did "obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by a ruler" in the past, is known to every responsible Hindese administrator. According to *The Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay, March 5, 1938: "An ex-Dewan of Travancore (State) declared in a communication to the press that Lord Winterton's exposition constitutes a departure, and a welcome one, from the Paramount Power's relation to Travancore as he knew it during his tenure of the Chief Ministership of the State."

At the Bombay Dinner held in London on the 27th of May, 1938, a historic statement was made by Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, throwing fresh light on the evolving constitution of India. Let it be remembered that the British people resort to a written constitution in their Dominions, Colonies and subject territories not because they are in love with a written constitution, as are the American people, but because the exigencies of the situation demand that some sort of written guarantees be given to the novitiates. In spite

of our flesh and bone of our bone. If we cannot regenerate them, if we cannot line them up on the side of progress and democracy, the blame should rest on our shoulders, not on those of the British rulers of India.

I am satisfied Lord Zetland's statement on this problem at the Bombay Dinner promises to be historie, in spite of the unreasoned whimperings of Congressmen.

CHAPTER III

STATES AND THE PEOPLE

(By M K GANDHI)

This editorial written by Mahatma Gandhi on the 28th of November, 1938, has a profound bearing upon the crisis of the early part of 1939. Let us underscore the words "The British Government will precipitate a first class crisis whose magnitude it is difficult to foretell," if it obstructs the grant of self-government by the Princes to their subjects. This editorial appeared in HARIJAN, Poona, December 3, 1938

—H T M

THE almost simultaneous awakening in the various states is a very significant event in the national struggle for independence. It will be wrong to think that such awakening can be due to the instigation of one person or a body of persons or any organization. It is just possible that the Haripur resolution of the Congress put the people of the states on their mettle and they realized as nev-

er before that their salvation depended upon their own labours. But above all it is the time spirit that has brought about the awakening. It is to be hoped that the Princes and their advisers will recognize it and meet the legitimate aspirations of the people. There is no half-way house between total extinction of the states and the Princes making their people responsible for the administration of their states and themselves becoming trustees for the people, taking an earned commission for their labours.

I hope, therefore, the rumour is not true that the British Government are likely, at the instance of some Princes or their Dewans, to announce a change in the policy, recently enunciated by Earl Winterton, about the ability of the Princes to grant responsible government to their people. If any of them have asked the British Government to reverse the policy, they have undoubtedly done a disservice to themselves. And if the British Government respond to the unworthy wish they will precipitate a first class crisis whose magnitude it is difficult to foretell. I must refuse to believe that the British Government can commit such a blunder. Earl Winterton's announcement

was but an endorsement of past practice¹ They are not known to have ever interfered with the states giving powers to their people, however wide they might be

I go a step further Even as the British Government, as the Paramount Power, are bound to protect the Princes against harm from outside or within, they are equally or *a fortiori* bound to ensure just rule on the part of the Princes Hence it is their bounden duty, when they supply the police or the military to any state, to see that there is a proper emergency justifying the request and that the military or the police will be used with becoming restraint From Dhenkanal have come to me stories of fiendish cruelty exercised by the state myrmidons under the shadow of the police supplied by the Paramount Power I asked for evidence in support of some of the unnameable cruelties And I have enough to inspire belief

Indeed, it is a question whether responsible ministers in the provinces have not a moral responsibility in respect of the people of the states in their respective provinces Under the constitution, the ministers have no power over them The Governor is the agent of the Viceroy who is the representative of the Para-

mount Power. But the ministers in autonomous provinces have surely a moral responsibility regarding what happens in the states. So long as the states and the people are satisfied, ministers have no worry. But have they none if there is, say, virulent epidemic in the states which, if neglected, may easily overtake the province in which they are situated? Have they none when there is a moral epidemic which seems to be raging in Dhenkanal?

I understand that the persecuted people are taking refuge in British Orissa. Can the ministers refuse them shelter? How many can they take charge of? Whatever happens in these states affects for better or for worse the province as a whole. I do believe, therefore, that the ministers by reason of the heavy responsibility resting on their shoulders have the moral right, within strict limits, to assert themselves for the sake of internal peace and decency. They cannot look on with unconcern while the people of the states—an *arbitrary creation of the Paramount Power*—are being ground to dust as they in Dhenkanal are reported to be.

One reads in the papers that some concessions have been given to the people of Dhen-

kanal I do not know whether the report is true and whether the relief answers the purpose for which the people of Dhenkanal are fighting and suffering. It is, however, irrelevant to the issue raised by me. I feel that the ministers in the Provinces are morally bound to take notice of gross misrule in the states within their borders and to tender advice to the Paramount Power as to what, in their opinion, should be done. The Paramount Power, if it is to enjoy friendly relations with the provincial ministers, is bound to give sympathetic ear to their advice.

There is one other matter which demands the urgent attention of the states and their advisers. They fight shy of the very name Congress. They regard Congressmen as outsiders, foreigners and what not. They may be all that in law. But man-made law, if it is in conflict with the natural law, becomes a dead letter when the latter operates in full force. The people of the states look up to the Congress in all matters affecting their interest. Many of them are members of the Congress. Some like Shri Jammal-ul-Jar hold high offices in the Congress organization. In the eyes of the Congress there is no distinction between members from the

states and from India called British. It is surely detrimental to the interests of the states to ignore the Congress or Congressmen, especially when it or they seek to render friendly assistance. They must recognize the fact that the people in the states are in many cases guided by the Congress. They know that I am responsible for the policy of non-interference hitherto followed by the Congress. But with the growing influence of the Congress it is impossible for me to defend it in the face of injustice perpetrated in the states. If the Congress feels that it has the power to offer effective interference, it will be bound to do so when the call comes. And if the Princes believe that the good of the people is also their good they would gratefully seek and accept the Congress assistance. It is surely in their interest to cultivate friendly relations with an organization which bids fair in the future, not very distant, to replace the Paramount Power, let me hope, by friendly arrangement. Will they not read the handwriting on the wall?

Segaon, 28-11-38

CHAPTER IV

RAJKOT

(By M K GANDHI)

This editorial appears in HARIJAN, Poona February 4, 1939 That the Mahatma is not given to exaggeration, that he is not in the habit of making accusations without a solid foundation is known to the whole world

Gandhi pleads for the Viceroy to intervene in order to undo the previous intervention (by the Resident representative of the Viceroy) undertaken by the British Raj in the guise of non intervention Shades of the "non intervention" committee for Spain! —H T M

THE struggle in Rajkot has a personal touch about it for me It was the place where I received all my education up to the matriculation examination and where my father was Dewan for many years My wife feels so much about the sufferings of the people that though she is as old as I am and much less able than myself to brave such hardships

as may be attendant upon jail life, she feels she must go to Rajkot. And before this is in print she might have gone there.¹

But I want to take a detached view of the struggle. Sardar's statement, reproduced elsewhere, is a legal document in the sense that it has not a superfluous word in it and contains nothing that cannot be supported by unimpeachable evidence most of which is based on written records which are attached to it as appendices.²

It furnishes evidence of a cold-blooded breach of a solemn covenant entered into between the Rajkot Ruler and his people. And the breach has been committed at the instance and bidding of the British Resident who is directly linked with the Viceroy.

To the covenant a British Dewan was party. His boast was that he represented British authority. He had expected to rule the Ruler. He was therefore no fool to fall into the Sardar's trap. Therefore the covenant was not an extortion from an imbecile ruler. The British Resident detested the Congress and the Sardar for the crime of saving the Thakore Sahib from bankruptcy and, probably, loss of his gadi.³ The Congress influence he could not

brook And so, before the Thakore Saheb could possibly redeem his promise to his people, he made him break it If the news that the Sardar is receiving from Rajkot is to be believed, the Resident is showing the red claws of the British lion and says in effect to the people Your ruler is my creature I have put him on the gadi and I can depose him He knew well enough that he had acted against my wishes I have therefore undone his action in coming to terms with his people For your dealings with the Congress and the Sardar I shall teach you a lesson that you will not forget for a generation ”

Having made the Ruler a virtual prisoner, he has begun a reign of terrorism in Rajkot Here is what the latest telegram received by the Sardar says Becharbhai Jasani and other volunteers arrested Twenty six volunteers taken at night to a distant place in the Agency limits and brutally beaten Volunteers in villages are similarly treated Agency police controlling State agency and searching private houses in civil limits ”

The British Resident is repeating the performances of the British officials in ‘British India’ during the Civil Disobedience days

I know that if the people of Rajkot can stand all this madness without themselves becoming mad, and meekly but resolutely and bravely suffer the inhumanities heaped upon them, they will come out victorious and, what is more, they will set free the Thakore Saheb. They will prove that they are the real rulers of Rajkot under the paramountcy of the Congress. If, however, they go mad and think of impotent retaliation and resort to acts of violence, their state will be worse than before and the paramountcy of the Congress will be of no effect. The Congress paramountcy avails only those who accept the banner of non violence, even as the paramountcy of Britain avails only those who subscribe to the doctrine of 'might is right'.

What then is the duty of the Congress when the people of Rajkot have to face not the Ruler and his tiny police but the disciplined hordes of the British Empire?

The first and natural step is for the Congress ministry to make themselves responsible for the safety and honour of the people of Rajkot. It is true that the Government of India Act gives the ministers no power over the States. But they are governors of a mighty

province in which Rajkot is but a speck. As such they have rights and duties outside the Government of India Act. And these are much the most important. Supposing that Rajkot became the place of refuge for all the *gundas*⁴ that India could produce, supposing further that from there they carried on operations throughout India, the ministers would clearly have the right and it would be their duty to ask the Paramount Power through the British Representative in Bombay to set things right in Rajkot. And it will be the duty of the Paramount Power to do so or to lose the ministers. Every minister in his province is affected by everything that happens in territories within his geographical limit though outside his legal jurisdiction, especially if that thing hurts his sense of decency. Responsible government in those parts may not be the ministers' concern, but if there is plague in those parts or butchery going on, it is very much their concern; or else their rule is a sham and a delusion. Thus the ministers in Orissa may not sit comfortably in their chairs, if they do not succeed in sending 26,000 refugees of Talcher to their home with an absolute assurance of safety and freedom of speech and social

and political intercourse. It is insufferable that the Congress, which is today in alliance with the British Government, should be treated as an enemy and an outsider in the States which are vassals of the British.

This wanton breach, instigated by the British Resident in Rajkot, of the charter of the liberty of its people is a wrong which must be set right at the earliest possible moment. It is like a poison corroding the whole body. Will H. E. the Viceroy realize the significance of Rajkot and remove the poison?

Bardoli, 30-1-39

CHAPTER V

RAJKOT AND JAIPUR

(By M. K. GANDHI)

This statement from Gandhi's pen appears in HARIJAN, Poona, February 4, 1939. If to-day Rajkot has become a test case it is not because of premeditated plans on the part of anybody—the logic of circumstances has made Rajkot a proving ground for the resurgent national consciousness of India. —H. T. M.

APPEALS are being made to me not to precipitate matters in the States. These appeals are unnecessary. After three months of non-violent struggle by the people of Rajkot an honourable understanding was arrived at between the Thakore Saheb-in-Council and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel representing the people, and the struggle was closed amid general rejoicings. But the noble work done by the Thakore Saheb and the people has been undone by the British Resident.

Honour demanded that the people should

fight unto death for the restoration of the covenant between the Thakore Saheb and his people. The struggle now is not between the Ruler and his people, but in reality it is between the Congress and the British Government represented by the Resident, who is reported to be resorting to organized "gundaism."¹ He is trying thereby to break the spirit of innocent men and women, who rightly resent the breach of faith.

It is a misrepresentation to suggest that Rajkot has been made a test case. There is no planned action with reference to Kathiawad States. What is happening is that those, who feel that they are ready for suffering, come to the Sardar for advice and he guides them. Rajkot seemed ready and the fight commenced there.

Jaipur's case is incredibly simple and different from that of Rajkot. If my information is correct, the British Prime Minister there is determined to prevent even the movement for popularising the ideal of responsible government. Civil disobedience in Jaipur is being, therefore, offered not for responsible government but for the removal of the bans on the

Praja Mandal² and its president Seth Jam
nalal Bajaj

In my opinion it is the duty of the Viceroy
to ask the Resident in Rajkot to restore the
pact and to ask the British Prime Minister of
Jaipur to lift the bans. Such action by the
Viceroy can in no sense be interpreted to
mean unwarranted interference in the affairs
of States.

Bardoli, 31-1-39

CHAPTER VI

"KICKS AND KISSES"

(By M. K. GANDHI)

The following statement, appearing in HARIJAN, Poona, February 4, 1939, makes painful reading How long, O Lord! how long will it be before Thou implantest in the hearts of Hindese Princes the Noblesse Oblige attitude of English aristocracy, the Samurai spirit of Japanese nobility? —H T. M.

THE reader will read with painful interest the following account, said to be authentic, of the meeting recently held in Bombay of the Chamber of Princes:

"H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner opened the discussions by narrating the events at Rajkot where, he said, the trouble was due to the absence of influential Jagirdars,¹ the want of demarcation between the Privy Purse and the State Expenditure, and the smallness of the Kathiawad States. It was regarded as a test case by the Congress,

and they had selected Rajkot for various reasons, the principal ones being that Rajkot, small and with limited resources, would not be able to withstand for long the onslaughts of the Congress, that the ground was ready for the delivery of such an attack, that the Congress was virile and active in Kathiawad, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was near at hand to direct operations and conduct the campaign. H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner then mooted the suggestion of a common Police Force for a group of States, as the resources of individual States, particularly of small ones, are not extensive and, therefore, totally inadequate to face the common danger. Such also was the indication of the Paramount Power and of its representatives - No great reliance, he said, could now be placed on co-operation and help from adjoining British territories as Congress was supreme there and they naturally would not like to help Indian States. On the other hand their sympathies either tacitly or actively are on the side of Indian State subjects or foreign agitators³. This was actually evidenced by the attitude of

the Orissa Government when help was demanded by the States in Orissa which had to face this trouble.⁴

Continuing, he stated that the Congress would devote increasingly greater attention to Indian States. Up to now its policy, as embodied in the resolution of the Haripura session and before, was of non-intervention, and the Indian States people were directed to be self-reliant. The reason is manifest. The Congress was actively busy with British Indian problems, and it wanted to generate strength in Indian State subjects and foster self-help in them. Now the Congress had practically established its sway in British India and would naturally mobilize its energy and influence towards Indian States.

There was another point. In order to distract attention from the differences that are creeping into Congress ranks, it is necessary to unfold the plans of a campaign. This is a subtle but short dictum of statecraft. This is one of the reasons of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia and the Austrian and Sudeten campaigns of Germany. It enables the Powers to draw attention

away from cleavages in the party and creates enthusiasm amongst its followers. We have also to bear in mind the attitude of the Paramount Power. In this connection reference must be made to the recent utterances of Mr. Gandhi on this subject. In my opinion greater reliance should be placed on our own strength than on any outside agency whose support is, at best, precarious and inadequate.

After a survey of Rajkot affairs, His Highness discussed the problems of the Rajputana States and outlined for the benefit of the Princes the policy he pursued with regard to his own State, Bikaner. He stated that he started the State Assembly in 1913, and that it discussed the State expenditure. Bikaner had a Rajpatra—State Gazette. He discriminated between the agitators from outside and from amongst his own subjects. This, he said, was important and the distinction must ever be borne in mind. Foreign agitators who have no stake in the State and who assume this role merely to be dubbed leaders and to be in the public eye, deserve short shrift. No consideration should be

shown to them. Their continued activities are a menace to the State; their presence constitutes a danger. The remedy is deportation from the State and their entry should be banned. The agitators in the State, though equally obnoxious to the State and its ordered peace and progress, however, stand on a slightly different footing. They have an interest in the land; they probably sometimes advocate grievances which are to a certain extent legitimate, and such should be redressed as far as possible so that the wind may be taken away from the sails of their agitation which they advocate and foster. Legitimate grievances so far as possible should be redressed and agitation should be silenced. If the agitators are genuine and come from the ranks of the educated unemployed, an effort should be made to give them suitable State employment and to close their mouths, acting on the adage: "It is better to sew the mouth with a morsel."

The question of Praja Mandals⁵ was then discussed. In this connection H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir Kailashnarsain Haksar, R. B. Pandit Amar Nath

Atal of Jaipur, Pt Dharamnaram of Udaipur and Major Harvey of Alwar made valuable contributions to the discussions. Mr Robertson of Bundi and Mr McGregor of Sirohi also asked a few questions. Mr Atal narrated at great length the origin and growth of the Praja Mandal at Jaipur. It was evident that the founders and promoters of these Praja Mandals were disgruntled subjects and dismissed petty officials of the State. A note of caution and warning was sounded. It was agreed that they should be watched very carefully and their activities, however slight or extensive, should be fully reported. It was stated that these Praja Mandals should be crushed immediately and that they should not be allowed to gather strength or to attain the status of an influential body. If they had gained any, an effort should be made to direct adroitly their activities into social channels such as the Sarda Act, etc. On the other hand it was urged that the formation of genuine and healthy advisory bodies of the States people should be encouraged which should form the nucleus for the training of the

people for so-called responsible government in the States. The Praja Mandals located outside the States should be ignored.

As regards responsible government in the States, advocated by Congress leaders like Messrs. Gandhi and Patel, it was felt that the States people are not at all ready for it, and to concede it, therefore, would be detrimental to the States and the people and fatal to ordered progress and peace. The position was summed up in the dictum, 'Be responsive, but no responsible government.' H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner was emphatic in his policy towards the Congress, and his words can be crystallized in the following mottos: *Be just, but be firm; follow the policy of 'repression and reconciliation' as stated in the famous letter of Lord Minto in 1909; 'the policy of kicks and kisses'.* It will require all the tact and discretion possible to adjudge when to be gentle and when to be firm and how to mix the two. The decision must depend on the situation which confronts the State and the merits of the individual problem. It was, however, very clear in their

discussions that the Praja Mandals, as such and as political bodies, should never be allowed to be formed in the States, and if in existence should be crushed and banned and their activities very carefully and closely watched. No hard and fast rules could be laid down as to how they should be repressed. Individual States will devise and evolve their own plans and lay down the *modus operandi*.

The tentative conclusions arrived at were: 1. Group Police for States; 2. Praja Mandals to be crushed immediately; 3. Legitimate grievances to be redressed; 4. Foreign agitators to be severely dealt with and deported; 5. Encourage social activities but not political; 6. Encourage genuine State People's Advisory Bodies; 7. Policy of 'Reconciliation and repression'; 'Be just, but be firm.'"

If the report is an accurate summary of the speeches delivered at the Conference, it shows that there is a nefarious plot to crush the movement for liberty which at long last has commenced in some of the States. Kisses are to go hand in hand with kicks. This reminds me of the Latin proverb which means: "I fear

the Greeks especially when they bring gifts!" Henceforth Rulers' favours are to be suspected. Reforms when they are made are to be made not for the sake of making the people happy, but in order to sew the mouth with a morsel. But man's proposals are often confounded even though his may be a crowned head. God has been found often to have disposed of his proposals in a way contrary to his expectations. If the people have shed fear and learnt the art of self-sacrifice, they need no favours. Kicks can never cow them. They will take what they need and assimilate it.

Bardoli, 31-1-39

CHAPTER VII

COLD-BLOODED BREACH OF A SOLEMN COVENANT

(By VALLABHBHAI PATEL)

On the 25th of January, 1939, (Sardar) Vallabhbhai Patel, Gandhi's lieutenant, released the following statement to the press along with the Appendices appearing in the next chapter. This statement as well as the material in the next chapter has been reproduced from HARIJAN, Poona, February 4, 1939

—H T M

IT is with the deepest regret that I have to announce resumption of the struggle in Rajkot which seemed to have ended so happily. Resumption has become a duty in order to vindicate the honour of the State and the self-respect of the people of Rajkot.

The public will recall that the Settlement (Appendix A) announced in the Rajkot State Gazette of 26th December was a result of discussions between the Thakore Saheb and

his Council consisting of Sir Patrick Cadell, Rao Saheb Maneklal Patel and Shri J Jobanputra The discussions which took place on the evening of December 25th lasted for nearly eight hours ending at 1 42 A M On the day of the settlement the Thakore Saheb gave me the following note

Amarsinhji Secretariat, Rajkot State
26th December, 1938

It is agreed that seven members of the committee mentioned in clause 2 of the State announcement of today's date are to be recommended by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and they are to be nominated by us

(Sd) Dharmendrasinh
Thakore Saheb Rajkot

It should be remembered that I had gone to Rajkot at the Thakore Saheb's invitation (Appendix B)

Soon after the settlement Sir Patrick Cadell retired for reasons to be found in Appendix C

I must state with the greatest reluctance that the Thakore Saheb has been ill served by those who have eaten his salt Among the worst of these advisers has been Durbar Viravala who

has ruined the State and drained it empty by his hopeless mismanagement. He has cast a spell over the Thakore Saheb which the latter cannot resist even if he would. It was he who brought Sir Patrick Cadell. When the latter realized that Durbar Viravala was the evil genius of the State, almost his first act was to have him banished from Rajkot with the help of the Agency. Sir Patrick Cadell might not have been obliged to leave if he had not traded upon his prestige as a member of the ruling race. Durbar Viravala would not brook the presence of a Dewan who had brought about his banishment.

Though he was banished he pulled the wires from Bagasra. His son Bhojvala and his nephew Valeravala are still with the Thakore Saheb. Realising that he could not successfully resist the contemplated settlement he played the role of a friend and seemed to assist the settlement. Soon after the settlement, when Sir Patrick Cadell was about to go, Durbar Viravala found himself in Rajkot and began his operations which have never ceased. The Resident's note and the Political Agent's note (Appendix D and E) will be read with interest.

I needed a few days to enable me to select, in consultation with those who were in charge of the movement, seven names of the committee that had to be given in terms of the settlement. I sent the following seven names on the 4th January:

1. Shri Popatlal Dhanjibhai Malaviya
- 2 " Popatlal Purushottam Anada
- 3 " Mullan Vahji Abdulali
- 4 Dr D. J. Gajjar
5. Shri Jamnadas Khushalchand Gandhi
- 6 " Vrajlal Mayashanker Shukla
7. " Uchharangray Navalshanker Dhebar.

Notification of the appointment of the committee should have followed at once. But nothing happened for some days.

On the 28th December there was a consultation between the Resident and the Thakore Saheb-in-Council. I have authentic notes of that interview taken by one of those present. The remarks made by the Resident about the Congress and me will be read with interest. He could not conceal his dislike of the settlement, the Congress or me. (Appendix F)

It seems that the Resident and Durbar Viravala are responsible for the breach of the

solemn undertaking the Thakore Saheb gave to his people. As evidence of Durbar Viravala's influence over the Thakore Saheb, the letter of thanks received by me from him makes interesting reading (Appendix G).

It is necessary to compare the present one-sided arbitrary notification (Appendix H) with the one which was issued in terms of the settlement. The second notification cancels four of my nominees. It also cancels the terms of reference and is vague, whereas the first was precise. The former contemplates publication of the report before the 31st instant and effect being given to it by the Thakore Saheb. The latter fixes no time limit for the report.

Before the last announcement I received a letter from Rao Saheb Maneklal Patel (Appendix I). It is noteworthy that whereas that letter had accepted four of my nominees the notification has only three. To this I sent a reply in Gujarati of which the translation will be found as Appendix J.

I had heard so much of Durbar Viravala's influence on the Thakore Saheb and his interference that I had to say in my said letter that Durbar Viravala could not in any event be

accepted on the committee I wanted no loop-hole left

This flagrant breach of a solemn settlement leaves but one course open before the people of Rajkot. It now remains for me to invite the people of Rajkot to resume the self-chosen course of suffering for vindicating their liberty and saving Rajkot and the Thakore Sabab from utter ruin. It is best to anticipate and provide for the worst. The worst that can happen is frightfulness of the extreme type including torture not unknown in Kathiawad, and setting up of internal quarrels. Of the latter we have evidence in inspired agitation from some Muslim brethren. We have to show them by our conduct that they have at least as much to gain as the rest of us by settled government under their own control. Rajkot has been made bankrupt through hopeless mismanagement and corruption. These dissensions, if they persist, can prolong the struggle, never defeat the end in view, if the people at large cohere, show capacity for enduring suffering, no matter how great or protracted, and also show capacity, in spite of pecuniary losses, for going through the items of non violent non cooperation. On no account must students

take part in civil disobedience or strikes. They can and should do constructive work if they believe in it. They can by house to house visits alleviate suffering which is bound to be as the struggle proceeds.

Non-violence has to be observed in thought, word and deed. It has to be observed as well among co-workers as with opponents and neutrals, as well in the jail as outside it. The measure of our non-violence will be the measure of our success. We must have faith in the possibility of our non-violence turning the Thakore Sahib's face in the direction of his people. Today he is a Ruler in name only. It must hurt every one of his people to find the young Prince committing a deliberate breach of the solemn covenant he made with his people.

I have said seemingly bitter things about Durbar Wadvala. But truth has to be sometimes bitter and harsh. I have said nothing that I do not believe about him. We must love him in spite of his glaring blemishes and expect our love to convert him and those who are working under his influence and direction.

I am sorry the Resident resents my intervention and the influence of the Congress in shaping the policy and programme of the peo-

ple of Rajkot The people of the States have always been guided by the Congress They owe allegiance to it Indeed in the early stages the Princes also looked to the Congress for its support The Congress adopted the policy of non intervention in the sense of direct participation in the matters affecting questions arising between the people and the Princes This was nothing hut recognition of the limitations of the Congress But when the people became conscious of their strength and were prepared to suffer, the Congress would be untrue to its mission if it failed to help them to the best of its ability As for poor me, I happen to have been a President of the Kathiawad Rajkiya Parishad¹ and as such owe a duty to the people of Kathiawad as also to the Princes and dare not refuse help when they need it In Rajkot the people in the first instance and then the Ruler sought my assistance which I claim has been unstintingly given I fail to see anything wrong in this or to be resented by the Resident or the Imperial Power This is a question which it would incidentally be Rajkot's proud privilege to be the cause of having decided

For the time being the civil resistance will

be confined to Kathiawadis only. The people of Kathiawad are so inter related that for practical purposes it would be difficult to exclude any Kathiawadi from participation on moral grounds.

CHAPTER VIII

QUOTING CHAPTER AND VERSE

CHARACTERS IN THE DRAMA

- 1 (SARDAR) VALLABHBHAI PATEL, one of Mahatma Gandhi's tried and trusted lieutenants, President of the Parliamentary Board of the All India National Congress, President for 1938-39 of the Rajkot Praja Mandal, i.e., of the Rajkot State People's Congress
- 2 H H THE THAKORE (SAHEB) of Rajkot, by name DHARMENDRASINH, the thirty-year-old ruler of Rajkot whom Gandhi calls "my dear son" Rajkot State has the distinction of having been served by Mahatma Gandhi's father as Prime Minister
- 3 VIRAVALA, referred to as DURBAR (COURTIER) VIRAVALA, liked neither by the British nor by the Congress, casts a magic spell upon the young Prince
- 4 SIR PATRICK CADELL especially invited to assume Premiership of Rajkot in order to repress popular agitation for self government SIR PATRICK discovers that many of the grievances of Rajkot subjects are legitimate and tries to intercede in behalf of the

- oppressed subjects His dictatorial tone, however, annoys the young Prince
- 5 E C GIBSON, British Resident at the Court of Rajkot Technically the Resident is like an envoy in competent to meddle in the affairs of sovereign states, actually, he always shapes and dictates the policies pursued in Hindese States
- 6 C K DALY, Political Agent for Kathiawad and Western Agency States
- 7 (RAO SAHEB) MANEKLAL C PATEL, member of the State Council of Rajkot
- 8 (SHRI) J L JDEANPUTRA another member of the State Council of Rajkot
- 9 The invisible shadow of the British Raj as represented by VICEROY LINLITHGOW
- 10 The invisible shadow of the Hindese Raj of the UNITED STATES OF INDIA is represented by MAHATMA GANDHI

APPENDIX A

Settlement between the Thakore Saheb and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel dated 26th December 1938

1 After having observed the growth of popular feeling and the regrettable sufferings of our people during the last few months for the redress of what they understood to be their grievances, and after having discussed the

whole situation with the Council and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, we are convinced the present struggle and sufferings should end immediately.

2. We have decided to appoint a committee of ten gentlemen who should be subjects or servants of our State, three of whom will be State officers and seven subjects* of our State whose names will be declared hereafter. The President of the committee will be a person appointed by His Highness.

3. This committee shall draw up by the end of January, after proper investigation, a report to us recommending a scheme of reforms so as to give the widest possible powers to our people consistently with our obligation to the Paramount Power and with our prerogatives as a Ruling Chief.

4. It is our desire that our Privy Purse shall henceforth be regulated in the manner laid down in the circular of the Chamber of Princes.

5. We desire furthermore to assure our people that we intend to consider and give effect to the scheme that may be reported to us by the said committee.

6. It being understood that all unconstitu-

tional agitation shall immediately cease, as a necessary prelude to restore peace and goodwill, we hereby grant full amnesty and release immediately all political prisoners and remit all fines and withdraw repressive measures

26-12-38

(Sd.) DHARMENDRASINH

*Note —The definition of "subject" for the purpose of para 2 shall be the same as that for a British Indian subject in British India.

APPENDIX B

Thakore Sahab's Invitation to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Amarsinhji Secretariat,
Rajkot State, December, 1938

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Thanks for your note received just now

I shall be delighted if you come and have tea with me at 5 p m today

We shall then discuss the present question in the presence of my Council Members

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) DHARMENDRASINH

APPENDIX C
Select Correspondence

(1) *Letter from Sir Patrick Cadell to the Thakore Saheb, dated 1st October, 1938:*

Amarsinhji Secretariat,
Rajkot, 1st October, 1938

Your Highness,

I yesterday asked you to allow me to see you not later than 8 o'clock. I had affairs of great importance to talk about. I suggested this late hour though inconvenient to myself, in order to suit you. You sent your Private Secretary to tell me that you would see me at 8-30. I was present at that time and was told that you were in your bath. I waited till 9 o'clock, and was told that you might be another quarter or half an hour late. I then left.

I now write to inform Your Highness that I have no intention of allowing myself to be treated in this grossly discourteous manner. I had no idea when I left England to help you that you would be capable of such behaviour. I cannot allow it to be continued.

I had intended to tell you last night that in any case the present situation cannot go on. The condition of affairs in the State is very

serious Many of the complaints against the State are based on your behaviour It is believed that you spend too large a share of the State's revenue, that most of your expenditure is on unworthy objects, and that you take no part in the administration of the State I do not wish to make any reference at present either to the amount of money you spend, or the way you spend it But it is certainly true that you take no part in the administration and show no interest in the welfare of your people This is all the more noticed because it is so different from the system which your father followed It is not fair to your officers to expect them to bear the burden of repressive methods while you do nothing You must take some share I therefore propose to you the following action

(1) I understand that you are to take part in the "yagna" ceremony at one, and perhaps two, of the temples this evening at 7.30 If there is time for you to agree to this I request that after you have done this, you will drive through the city and that you will allow me to accompany you

(2) The Huzur Office is closed today as it is a holiday, but it is open on Monday I sug-

gest that you should promise *on your word of honour* to come to the office on Monday, not later than 6 P. M. to hear petitioners for about an hour.

I am sure that these two actions will have a good effect in the city.

I must also make a third request.

(3) Whenever I have to see you on any day, you will promise to see me on that day not later than 7-30 P.M. and you will promise *on your word of honour* not to be more than a quarter of an hour late.

If you are unable to accede to these suggestions, I shall be obliged to inform the Hon. the Resident that I cannot carry on and that I propose to return to England as soon as possible.

If I have to do so, I fear that this may have unfortunate consequences both for your State and for yourself. I can assure you that the Government of India are not likely to look with favour on your conduct. I should be sorry if you were to suffer, but I cannot continue if Your Highness behaves like this.

I should be obliged if you would let me know before 5-30 this evening whether Your

Highness agrees to drive through the city this evening and to allow me to accompany you

I am, Yours sincerely,

(Sd)PATRICK CADELI

(2) *Letter from the Thakore Saheb to Sir Patrick Cadell dated 2nd October 1938*

Confidential

Ranjit Vilas Palace,
Rajkot, 2nd October, 1938

Dear Sir Patrick,

I am exceedingly sorry to receive your letter of yesterday, and I must say that I do not like the tone of it. I cannot accept that the complaints against me are based on facts. The present agitation is only a wave spread by the Congress for the initiation of responsible government in the States and I believe that to be the reason why they have selected Rajkot in Kathiawad, as they have done with Mysore Travancore, etc. as States in which people already enjoy greater share of public liberties.

It was with a view to put down the situation that I had requisitioned your services. I have still a wish to smoothen your task as much as possible and will come to the office any day at my convenience after Dasera.¹

I strongly object to your remarks that if you have to go it may have unfortunate consequences both for my State and myself, and that the Government of India are not likely to look with favour on my conduct. In this connection I must definitely let you understand that it is I who has appointed you as my Dewan, and that if as a result of any disagreement with you I have to ask you to be relieved, neither the Hon. the Resident nor H. E. the Viceroy will have any cause to look upon me with disfavour. Whatever information you may be able to gather with regard to my State and myself is made available to you because you enjoy my confidence, and I need hardly say that you cannot utilize any of my State records without my permission, and much less against myself. Any information which the Hon. the Resident has thought it necessary to receive about anything relating to my State has been sought for through my Dewan, only if I am agreeable to give it. I might also tell you that I have done nothing to lose any share of the confidence which I enjoy both with the Hon. the Resident and H. E. the Viceroy to its fullest extent. I would therefore wish you to reconsider your decision

and express your agreement to act in a manner consonant with my dignity and policy

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) DHARMENDRASINH

(3) *Letter from Thakore Saheb to Sir Patrick Cadell dated 16th October 1938*

Rajkot, 16th October 1938

Dear Sir Patrick,

You are, I am sure, fully aware of the present situation. It has not been improved in any way and so far as I can see it is getting worse every day and has reached a climax by now. The other day when we called a meeting we agreed to give the people certain concessions, but it failed to ease the situation and bring about any desired result. I am myself getting convinced that we failed to take proper steps at the proper time, which should have removed my anxiety. The situation, in short, is decidedly getting out of control and adding immensely to my troubles. The agitation is getting more intense with little hope of its being brought under control in the near future. My people feel and are led to believe that you have been sent by the Government- and that I have lost the position which I had hitherto enjoyed.

They now refuse to extend to me the same love and loyalty which they used to extend before your arrival. Nay they even seem to think and carry the impression that not I but you are the Ruler.

I should say that though this feeling is not created by you but I must say that anyway it is there which they are not in a mood to shake off obviously. Diwali holidays are drawing nearer and Ijaras must as usual be given but the people have boycotted them.³ They are further determined to boycott sales of grain also, and it is possible that no sale of grain could be made this year due to their non-cooperation. This would mean a financial ruination of the State and a crisis which had better be imagined than stated. This state of things, I feel, I, as the Ruler, am bound to prevent at any cost or sacrifice in the interests of the State and its subjects.

The people, as you know, have now adopted a defiant attitude and are suffering. I must, therefore, see that this unfortunate situation must be thoroughly eased and some sort of definite settlement should be arrived at between them and me at the earliest possible opportunity. I feel I am unable to do anything

in this matter so long as my people do not recognize me as their *de facto* Ruler. As a well-wisher of the State you would also wish and agree that such a state of things should not be permitted to continue any more. It is therefore my bounden duty to see that I must have my position as the real and benevolent Ruler re-established in the eyes of my people, in order that I may be able to carry conviction and settle with them and win their love and confidence.

I had asked D. S. Viravala to know your views in this matter. He tells me that he saw you on the 13th instant and you told him that in your view the fight should be continued as long as the State's finances would permit and we should see whether they or we would ultimately win.

Besides, your letter dated 1st October 1938 gives me to understand that in so far as you are concerned you are definitely of the view that I am myself, more or less, the cause of these troubles. I have denied the charges by my reply. Considering the allegations made in your letter and your attitude, I have little doubt in my mind that we would not be able to pull on together in the interests of my State.

and its subjects and also my rights, dignity and position of the Ruler, as nobody realises the extremely disastrous situation more than I do

It is my definite desire to, myself, settle the domestic dispute between my State and its subjects as early as possible and before the Diwali holidays. Thus would not, in my view, be possible unless we part at the earliest. This is a very unfortunate position and no one would be more sorry than myself. But it could not be helped as the interests of myself and my State are at stake. I need hardly assure you that it is not my desire to make your position awkward in any way, and hence I leave it to you to decide how you should arrange to leave and retire, as I am anxious to see that just as you came as a friend you should also part as a friend. I had engaged your services for six months certain and hence I am instructing the State Treasurer to pay your salary accordingly. I am also instructing Mr. Bhat, the Revenue Secretary, to relieve you at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) DHARMENDRASINH

(4) *Letter from Mr E C Gibson to the Thakore Sahab dated 26th October 1938*

Confidential The Residency, Rajkot
D.O No C/134-38 26th October, 1938

My Dear 'Thakore Sahab,

You will remember that on the evening of October 16th you wrote to inform me that you desired to dispense with Sir Patrick Cadell's services and you enclosed a copy of the letter which you already sent to him. On the following morning we had a discussion. I then strongly advised you to reconsider the matter and to refrain from taking a step which from every point of view must inevitably be very prejudicial to the interests of your State and yourself. I also pointed out that when, on August 25th, you wrote to me asking me to obtain the necessary sanction to Sir Patrick Cadell's appointment, you stated very definitely that the appointment was to be for a minimum period of six months in the first instance. On this understanding I referred your request to the Political Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative's approval of the proposal.

I need not repeat here the views which I ex-

plained fully when we discussed the matter on October 17th and again on October 22nd

After our discussion on October 17th, as you were unwilling to accept the advice which I offered, I forwarded to the Political Secretary a copy of your letter of October 16th⁴

When we met on October 22nd I told you that I had been instructed to inform you that His Excellency the Crown Representative⁵ trusts that in the interests of your State and yourself you will lose no time in reversing the action taken by you. Since then I have been hoping to hear that you have accepted and acted upon this advice. As however I have received no intimation from you to this effect, I write to ask you kindly to let me know as soon as possible the action you have taken in the matter since I saw you on October 22nd

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) E C GIBSON

(5) *Letter from the Thakore Saheb to Mr Gibson dated 29th October 1938*

Confidential

29th October, 1938

My dear Mr Gibson

I am very thankful for your confidential D O C/134 38 dated 26th instant

In view of the desire of His Excellency the

Crown Representative and your earnest advice and recommendation I have decided to continue Sir Patrick Cadell in my service although I maintain that the constitutional aspect of this question is in my favour

I am very anxious that proper steps should be taken as soon as possible and have decided to form a strong council consisting of Sir Patrick Cadell and two of my officers to carry on the State, so that peace and tranquility and respect for law is properly maintained

At the time of my interview with you on the 17th instant you approved of my suggestion of forming a council Accordingly I have decided to have one of the following members in charge of the departments shown against their names

1st member and Vice president Sir Patrick Cadell 1 Law and Justice, 2 Political 3 Finance 4 Police and 5 Praja Pratimudhi Sabha and Municipality

2nd member Rao Saheb Maneklal C Patel 1 Finance, 2 Industries 3 Revenue 4 P W D and 5 Bardashi

3rd Member Mr Javantilal L. Jobanputra 1 Medical 2 Jail, 3 Education and 4 Stables and other unspecified departments

As regards the future steps to be taken to control the present situation, they will be decided by the council with my approval and in all other important questions the above procedure is to be adopted.

I will issue detailed instruction hereafter. I think the formation of such a strong council will remove my anxiety about the present situation, which is increasing day by day.

On hearing from you, I shall inform Sir Patrick Cadell accordingly.

I am so sorry for the trouble I gave you in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) DHARMENDRASINH

APPENDIX D

Letter from Mr. Gibson to Durbar Viravala.

The Residency, Rajkot,
25th November, 1938.

My dear Viravala,

Thanks for your letter. I did hear when I returned to Rajkot this morning that you were here, and I must say that I was very much surprised to hear it. I should have thought that if Mr. Anantrai Pattani wanted to see you he could have asked you to go to Bhav-

Crown Representative and your earnest advice and recommendation, I have decided to continue Sir Patrick Cadell in my service although I maintain that the constitutional aspect of this question is in my favour

I am very anxious that proper steps should be taken as soon as possible and have decided to form a strong council consisting of Sir Patrick Cadell and two of my officers to carry on the State, so that peace and tranquility and respect for law is properly maintained

At the time of my interview with you on the 17th instant you approved of my suggestion of forming a council Accordingly I have decided to have one of the following members in charge of the departments shown against their names

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3rd Member Mr Jayantilal L Jobanputra 1 Medical 2 Jail 3 Education and 4 Stables and other unspecified departments

As regards the future steps to be taken to control the present situation, they will be decided by the council with my approval and in all other important questions the above procedure is to be adopted

I will issue detailed instruction hereafter. I think the formation of such a strong council will remove my anxiety about the present situation, which is increasing day by day

On hearing from you, I shall inform Sir Patrick Cadell accordingly

I am so sorry for the trouble I gave you in the matter

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) DHARMENDRASINH

APPENDIX D

Letter from Mr Gibson to Durbar Viravala

The Residency, Rajkot
25th November, 1938

My dear Viravala,

Thanks for your letter. I did hear when I returned to Rajkot this morning that you were here, and I must say that I was very much surprised to hear it. I should have thought that if Mr Anantaji Pattani wanted to see you he could have asked you to go to Bhav

nagar or could himself have gone to Natwar-nagar which is, I believe, much nearer to Bhavnagar than Rajkot is I cannot understand why he felt it incumbent on him to make this extraordinary request, and I certainly think that it is a pity that you complied with it after the advice I gave you I can understand that you were reluctant to come here These long journeys must be very bad for your health at a time when you require rest and quiet for recuperation after your long illness I am glad that you are feeling better today, and I strongly advise you to take more care of your health in future

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) E C GIBSON

Vala Shri Vira Mulu,

Talukdar of Natwanagar, Rajkot

APPENDIX E

Letter from the Political Agent to Durbar Ivatola

Personal

Rajkot, 29 10 38

Dear Vala Shri,

Your personal letter of yesterday I am sorry Col Aspinall thought the journey had

been trying to you, particularly as you told me you were feeling so unwell after it.

I was naturally extremely surprised, after your assurances that you would see nobody in Rajkot pending a reply to my reference to the Hon the Resident, to learn that you had been to the Palace.

I can only assume that you will realize that, in your own interests, this was hardly wise, and that you will, pending your return to Natwanagar, not again depart from the attitude you had offered to adopt, i.e., complete aloofness from local affairs and not to meet anybody.

I trust that you have now completely rested and will not suffer from your return journey to Natwanagar tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) C K DAIA

APPENDIX F

*Extracts from notes of the talks at the Residency on
28th December 1938*

Present: The Hon. Mr. Gibson,
The Thakore Saheb,

Sir Patrick R. Cadell,	}	Members of the State Council
Rao Saheb M. C. Patel,		
Mr. Jayantilal L. Jobanputra		

The Hon. Mr. Gibson started by saying to the Thakore Saheb to the effect that the agreement made by him had stirred up all the Princes. He would like to know how Vallabhbhai Patel had come to Rajkot and whether he was invited by him.

Thakore Saheb: He had come of his own accord and asked for meeting me, and I had invited him to tea.

Mr. Gibson: Well, he is a very unreliable man. You know that the Government of India's wishes were that no outside interference should be allowed. By settling with him, you have lost sympathies of your brother Princes and the Government. Although the Government of India do not mind what you do, you have erred in settling through Patel. Even amongst the Congress workers, Mr. Patel is

the most untrustworthy. However, as it appears from the Notification, the wordings of the settlement are not so bad but for the words "widest possible powers" which are capable of any interpretation. It may mean that you will be reduced to a figurehead. On the strength of these words they would demand full responsible government at the very start and you will find yourself in a very awkward situation.

Thakore Sahab: No, I have only appointed a committee.

Mr. Gibson: Yes, but who will appoint the members of the committee? And the report as received has to be given effect to.

Thakore Sahab: Well, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel will suggest names.

Mr. Gibson: That is it. That means Congress workers, who will demand full responsible government in view of the words "widest possible powers".

Sir Patrick: How is Mr. Patel to suggest names? Are we to write to him?

Thakore Sahab: No, he will send names.

Mr. Gibson: In one of the clauses, you have agreed to give full effect to the report. That is very bad. You have given up your cards

As regards the appointment of the President of the Reforms Committee, Mr Gibson asked the Thakore Sahab as to who will be the President of the Committee

Thakore Sahab Durbar Viravala

Mr Gibson No, he cannot come

Thakore Sahab Why? He will come after his leave period is over

Mr Gibson No He is a talukdar He can not come I would not let him come now

Thakore Sahab No He can come after Sir Patrick has gone

Mr Gibson That will be seen after Sir Patrick is gone

APPENDIX G

Letter from Thakore Sahab to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Amarsinhji Secretariat

Rajkot State

27th December, 1938

My dear Vallabhbhai Patel,

I am very thankful to you for coming to Rajkot

I appreciate very much the way in which you helped me in ending the impasse

I think you are fully aware by now that Dewan Sahib Virabhai (Virnala) has been most loyal to me and my State. All along his career he has done his best for the good of my people.

In safeguarding the interests of myself and my State he had to suffer also.

Now I request you to do your best to remove any misunderstanding existing in the minds of my people against him.

I shall feel very thankful for the same.

Yours sincerely

(Sd) DHARMENDRASINH

Thakore Sahib Rajkot

APPENDIX H

Rajkot Gazette Notification dated 21st January 1939

RAJKOT DARBARI GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY

Saturday 21st January 1939

NOTIFICATION

No 61 of 1938-39

As observed in the Notification No 50 dated the 26th December 38 we are hereby pleased to appoint the following seven gentlemen representing all important interests in the State to work along with the three officers of the State whose names will be announced

hereafter, to work on a committee to draw up, after proper investigation, a report recommending to us a scheme of reforms with a view to associating the people more closely with the administration of the State

- 1 Mr Popatlal Purushottam Anada, President P P Sabha,
- 2 Jadeja Jivansinhji Dhirubha,
- 3 Sheth Dada Haji Valmohmed,
- 4 Mr Popatlal Dhanjibhai Malaviya,
- 5 Mr Mohanlal M Tank, President, Municipal Corporation,
- 6 Dr D J Gajjar, and
- 7 Sheth Haptubhai Abdulali

The Committee is expected to submit its report after full and thorough inquiry

Rajkot, 21st January, 1939

DIHARMENDRASINH
Thakore Saheb, Rajkot State

APPENDIX I

*Letter from Shri Maneklal Patel to Sardar Vallabh
bhai Patel, dated 12th Jan '39*

Confidential

Ranjit Vilas,
Rajkot, 12th January 1939

Dear Sardar Sahab,

I am desired by H H Thakore Sahab to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, recommending the seven names to be nominated by him to the proposed Reforms Committee

You must have learnt from the newspapers that the names suggested by you were already out by the time your letter was received by His Highness He regrets that it should have been so, because such an exposure places you and His Highness in somewhat awkward position

While H H would very much wish to select all the names suggested by you, you would also appreciate that he cannot ignore the requests made by important classes of his subjects, and should see that the committee consists of such persons as would command the confidence of all important groups of his subjects In fact, His Highness has received rep

representations from the Bhayats and the Muslim Council and a petition from the Depressed Class, and has therefore desired me to write to you as under

While here, you very rightly said to H H that you did not know who the real leaders were and therefore postponed suggesting names after you had consulted others

His Highness approves of the gentlemen numbered 1, 2, 4 and 5

While number three owns immovable property and has resided here about 40 years and is a respectable citizen, he could hardly be expected to be useful with independent opinion to work on a committee of this nature

You would agree that the Mohammedans form a very important unit and are now too well organized to be ignored so lightly. In their representation submitted as a result of the unanimous resolution of the Muslim Council, they have requested that three out of seven should be Mohammedans. This demand of theirs is of course unreasonable, but including the Bohras they should be given two seats and the President of their Council should be one of them. In view of your vast experience in British India, you will appreciate that if their

legitimate request were not met, they may make a row and may create unhealthy atmosphere, which we all wish to avoid. There is no doubt that we all want a committee which would represent all sections of the people, be impartial and work harmoniously and with sagacity.

As regards numbers six and seven, it appears that they would not come strictly within the scope of the definition of the "subject" as referred to in the notification.

Mr. V. M. Shukla was neither born in the State nor has he been staying within the jurisdiction of the State since his birth for as many as about forty years. Possession by his ancestors of some property in Sardhar Pati does not entitle him, according to the definition, to be considered as a Rajkot State subject. He is neither born, nor domiciled, nor naturalized in the State.

As regards Mr. U. N. Dhebar, His Highness feels that the same objection would come in the way. As is understood, he originally belongs to the Jamnagar State and his father spent the major portion of his life in Bombay. He himself is said to have received his schooling in Rajkot and was residing in the Civil

Station when he started practice as a pleader. He has been living within the State lines since about two years. He has also purchased land in the State last year. His Highness feels that he should restrict his nomination to the definition, so as not to create any ill feeling amongst other leading gentlemen, who have always been recognized by the State, since the time of the late Thakore Saheb, as leaders of the public.

It may also be brought to your notice that the Bhayats have also approached His Highness, and very rightly, with a request that at least one of them should be on the committee, as they represent a very important and considerable unit in the State. His Highness therefore considers it essential that one of them should be on the committee.

It is His Highness' wish, as you will readily understand, that the committee should consist of the best brains who would also be representative of all important classes of his subjects.

If any suggestions are to be made in the light of what has been said above, His Highness will then declare the personnel of the com-

mittee, inclusive of three officials besides the President of the committee.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. C. PATEL

APPENDIX J

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's letter to Shri Maneklal Patel, dated 15-1-39:

Camp Bardoli, 15-1-39.

Dear Shri Maneklal Patel,

I have your letter of the 12th instant. It has pained me. It is indeed regrettable that the names I proposed were published, but it is not always possible to keep anything private in which a number of persons are concerned. And then in spite of publication, alteration can certainly be made if there are valid reasons.

I am afraid I cannot accept your recommendation regarding the names of Bhayats and Mussalmans on the committee. There was a definite intelligible object behind the settlement entitling me to suggest the names. That object would be frustrated if I were to accept your recommendation. The names have been suggested to achieve the object which can be fulfilled only by having on the committee men

of integrity holding particular views. The seven members whose names I have suggested will surely bear in mind the interests of Bhayats and others. More than this may not be expected.

I regret you have seen fit to object to certain names on the ground of their not being State subjects. But you have a right to do so. If on further consideration you should adhere to the view that Shri Dhebarbhai does not come within the definition rather than argue with you I am prepared to withdraw his name and to suggest instead the name of Shri Gajanan Joshi Vakil. I maintain that Shri Vajubhai Shikla comes within the definition.

H. H. the Thakore Sahib's notification can only mean that the chairman of the committee has to be from the committee of ten and I must say that Durbai Viravala may not be appointed chairman. He has sent me word that he does not intend to hold office, but in order to avoid any possible accident I have thought it proper to mention this.

I cannot help saying that the appointment of the committee has been greatly delayed. Their report has got to be published by the 31st January. I therefore hope that the com-

mittee will be appointed immediately on receipt of this letter. If unfortunately the appointment continues to be delayed, there is every fear of the struggle being resumed by the people. I must also add that I have in my possession copies of correspondence that has taken place between H. H. the Thakore Sahib and Sir Patrick Cadell, and of the summary of an interview with the Resident. If the settlement breaks down, I am afraid it will be my duty to publish, in public interest, these and other documents in my possession. But I hope I may have to do nothing of the kind and the committee will be appointed and begin work immediately.

May I expect a wire from you in reply?

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) VALLABHBHAI PATIL

CHAPTER IX

GANDHI'S FASTS

MAHATMA GANDHI! His presence is a benediction. His feet sanctify every habitation, whether a hut or a palace, into which he enters. By strange ways he has been led into circumstances in which alone could flower all that he brought with him of patient, unwearying courage that naught might daunt, unselfishness that found its joy in sacrifice, endurance so sweetly gentle that its power was not readily understood. We see in Mahatma Gandhi that deathless Spirit which redeems wrong by suffering, and in death wins life for others, one of those marked out for becoming the Saviors and Helpers of humanity. So frail and yet so mighty, Gandhi is the apotheosis of the Biblical injunction: "The meek shall inherit the earth." By his meekness, by his fasting, by his silence, the Mahatma has been talking more effectively and to better purpose than all the diplomats, statesmen and orators

of the world put together Here is the man's own philosophy of fast as set forth in 1933 under dramatic circumstances

My life has been made up of numerous occasions of fasting It is the sincerest form of prayer It has been with me for several years though it has come much into the limelight recently It is not a thing altogether ill thought out It does not mean coercion of anybody It does of course, exercise pressure on individuals even as on the government but it is nothing more than the natural and moral result of an act of sacrifice It stirs up sluggish consciences and it fires loving hearts to action Those who have to bring about radical changes in human condition and surroundings cannot do it except by raising ferment in society

There are only two methods of doing this violence and non violence Violent pressure is felt on the physical being and it degrades him who uses it as it depresses the victim But non violent pressure exerted through self suffering by fasting works in an entirely different way It touches not the physical body but it touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed

Who knows I may have to go through a series of fasts and die by inches! But if that does happen I want you to feel proud of my action and not feel that it was the action of an idiotic man My life is largely governed by reason and when it fails it is governed by a superior force—Faith

Gandhi specializes in fasting and in reducing his wants to a minimum He has embraced

self imposed poverty and elected to live among the underprivileged as one of them. Silence communion with the inner self, is another characteristic of the Gandhi way of life.

Analyzing his fasting experiences Gandhi once said that the pangs of hunger were apt to trouble one during the first 48 or 72 hours, that after the period of gnawing pains elapsed, the internal system became conditioned to living upon stored up energy, that rest to the digestive system and the absence of craving were conducive to clear thinking (possibly, to illumination — H T M) that a self imposed fast was a good thing for everyone to practice occasionally.

The hygienic and health aspects apart the Mahatma looks upon fasting as a weapon ancillary to the technique of non violence. I do not claim to understand the full implications of non violence or of fasting as conceived by Gandhi. In 1930 he startled me by saying that in his judgment the fast unto death undertaken by MaeSweeney in prison in Dublin was an act of violence! How MaeSweeney's martyrdom differs from the numerous acts of self immolation on the part of Gandhi. I do not presume to know.

Be that as it may, Gandhi has used the fast as a weapon of chastisement, of coercion, against those whose conduct he has had reason to disapprove of. Against the erring ways of boys in the Ashram both in South Africa and in India, Gandhi has gone on a fast on a number of occasions

In 1916, when the employers of Ahmedabad refused to abide by an arbitration award made by a committee chosen by employers and employees, Gandhi, who had been a member of the arbitration committee, went on a hunger strike and secured the assent of the mill-owners of Ahmedabad to the arbitration award

In 1919 when the British Raj passed the Rowlatt legislation in the teeth of popular opposition, Gandhi went on a fast for 72 hours and called upon his compatriots to fast for 24 hours as an act of self-purification preliminary to the launching of non-violent non-cooperation. When violence broke out within a few days, Gandhi suspended the movement and observed a fast as penance for the shortcomings of his people, for his own unworthiness as leader.

In 1924 he had hardly recuperated fully

from the effects of appendicitis, when Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in a most virulent form. Promptly, the Mahatma went on a twenty-one-day fast. His fast had an electrical effect upon the atmosphere in the country. Practical steps were taken for bringing about *rapprochement* and reconciliation between the two groups.

Until 1932 all of Gandhi's fasts had a definite time-limit. But in September, 1932, the Mahatma was driven to desperation by the mad folly of Premier MacDonald who wanted to create a jim crow constituency of untouchables in India. On the 20th of September, 1932, Gandhi embarked upon his epic fast unto death and broke it on the 26th of the month when the British Government at Whitehall consented not to create a separate constituency for the untouchables (Harijans, i.e., God's children)¹

In May, 1933, at the age of 63, the Mahatma went on a twenty-one day fast as a protest against the inertia of high caste Hindus who did not exert themselves energetically for the abolition of untouchability.

Week-long fasts were undertaken, for the

purposes of self-purification, by the Mahatma in August of 1933 and 1934

At the age of 70 he undertook in the present year (1939) a fast "unto death" which happily was terminated after 98 hours and 25 minutes, the Thakore of Rajkot undertaking to stand by his agreement with Mr Vallabhbhai Patel. The fast was undertaken on the 3rd of March and broken on the 7th of March, 1939

The successful issue of Gandhi's fast "unto death" is, in my judgment, one of the minor marvels of our times, the major marvel is the utter serenity and unswerving confidence with which Gandhi's friends and followers expected the Mahatma's act of martyrdom to be crowned with success. I may be permitted to share a confidence with my readers. This book was planned and executed—all excepting this paragraph—before news of Gandhi's breaking of the fast reached us in America. The length of the fast in the preceding paragraph I had tentatively set at 85 hours—the actual time elapsed, according to an Associated Press dispatch, is 98 hours and 25 minutes.

Viewed from a certain standpoint, Gandhi's life has been a series of fasts. If the British

are past masters in the art of diplomacy, Gandhi is a fast-master in the art of dealing with British diplomacy.

We have been witnesses to a miracle in the twentieth century. A wisp of a man, without arms, without threat of physical force, successfully defies the organized violence of the mightiest empire of our times and of its feudatories, the Hindese Princes.

Verily the potentialities of soul force are limitless. We have merely scratched the surface as yet.

By his readiness to make the supreme sacrifice within the power of man in the cause of *Ahimsa* (non-violence love), in the cause of justice, in the cause of peace, Mahatma Gandhi has endeared himself to the whole world.

May we who applaud the Saint's heroism dedicate ourselves to the way of *Ahimsa*, of Soul Force, and work for the establishment of peace on earth and good will among men!

CHAPTER X

"THE TERRIBLE MEEK"

By way of a postscript I may add the editorial appearing in THE NEW YORK TIMES, March 8, 1939, under the caption GANDHI'S FAST. The reproduction of this editorial does not mean my endorsement of the myth of Gandhi's "waning influence" nor does it imply my acceptance of the "old and tired" note imputed to the deathless, ever-young Mahatma. As an acknowledgment of the supreme triumph of soul force against the background of brute force rampant in the "civilized" world, the TIMES editorial has international significance of incalculable worth. Follows the text of the editorial:

THE outcome of Gandhi's latest fast illustrates once more the power of "the terrible meek." Brutal compulsion tramples out resistance over much of the earth; but in India, at least, fear that one man's flickering eyelids might close forever is still enough to change state policies. The 69-year-old leader

got what he wanted and mildly celebrated his victory with a glass of orange juice

Five days ago Gandhi, sipping a little goat's milk, announced he had taken his last nourishment until the Thakore Saheb, ruler of the minor state of Rajkot, granted democratic reforms within his administration. He promised a "fast unto death" and no one doubted his will to carry it through. Immediately the vast country was in a ferment. The hurried intervention of the British Viceroy was needed to obtain the agreement that ended the dispute. Thus Gandhi won his immediate objective. It remains to be seen whether this success will be extended. Of late his influence has seemed to be waning, as nationalist Congress leaders continued to move toward the Left. How far his renewed sponsorship of civil disobedience in the native states was directed at these leaders and how far it was an oblique attack on the British plan for an All-India Federal Government is not clear. But presumably this demonstration of his power will restore his prestige among his followers.

Gandhi himself said only a little while ago, "I know that my days are numbered. All about me is darkness." His voice is not the voice of

India as it once was. He is old and tired. The future is obscure. Perhaps this sudden resurgence of an indomitable spirit is the last blaze among the embers. In any case, this strange little man will hold the world's imagination to the end.—*The New York Times*.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

Hindese, derived from Hind, the indigenous word for the Anglicized term India, may be used either as a noun or as an adjective signifying "Of or pertaining to Hind or India" This term has been coined by the present writer to obviate confusion between the Hindese of India and the "Indians" of America A detailed discussion of the term and its significance will be found in my book *THE UNITED STATES OF INDIA* which will soon be off the press

CHAPTER III

On the objective plane this statement, even though emanating from the Mahatma's pen, is false But then there is a plane higher than the one conjured up by the finite intelligence of man is objective For the moment Gandhi is concerned with a bad boy whom he wishes to convert to the ways of virtuous living Intent upon reforming the erring youngster, Gandhi, profound psychologist that he is, does not tell the boy, "You are bad", rather does the Mahatma accept the boy's version and profession that he has been good all along "Yes" says Gandhi in effect, "you have been a good boy in the past — I accept your word What is more I am sure you will be good in the future as well"

I am afraid Earl Winterton did not realize that the Mahatma would take him at his own word — with a view to regulating the future relations of the British Raj with the Hindese Princes

- 2 Jinnalal Bajaj, subject of Jaipur State, one of Gandhi's rich followers, has held the office of Congress treasurer and is President of the Jaipur State Praja Mandal or People's Party.

CHAPTER IV

- 1 Mrs Gandhi courted imprisonment on the 3rd of February, 1939
- 2 Sardar — this honorific title, meaning commandant or Fuehrer, was first bestowed upon Mr Vallabhbhai Patel by Mahatma Gandhi in 1917-18 during the non payment of taxes campaign in Kaira District, Gujarat, Bombay Province, initiated by Gandhi and carried to a successful conclusion by the people of Kaira under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's leadership
- 3 Gadi, i.e., throne
- 4 GUNDAS, i.e., the riffraff, unscrupulous, anti social persons habitually operating on the plane of violence The term gangster is, in my judgment about the happiest rendition of GUNDAS

CHAPTER V

- 1 GUNDAISM i.e., gangsterism, hooliganism
- 2 Praja Mandal, literally The People's Association, the term in Hindese politics connotes the organization of the subjects of a State into a political body

CHAPTER VI

- 1 Jagirdar is a holder of a Jagir, i.e., of "a grant of the public revenues of a district to a person with power to collect and enjoy it and to administer the government in the district" His status is that of a feudal lord vis a vis the government on the one hand and the tenants on the other

- 2 It is the fashion in America for people to believe that the doctrine might is right is the corner stone of the philosophy of totalitarian States alone that (so-called) democracies like England and France are supposed to believe in right is might. These good people must have received a jolt when they read in the last Chapter Gandhi's words that the paramountcy of Britain avails only those who subscribe to the doctrine of might is right. Whatever lingering doubt there might have been is set at naught by the common police theory for small States indicated by the British Raj in India and advocated by its apt pupils the Hindese Princes. That the Princes should turn to police powers rather than to reconciliation and goodwill is a sad commentary indeed¹. But one must give them credit for being apt pupils of the British.
- 3 Foreign agitators i.e. Congressmen from India called British to quote Gandhi's apt phrase.
- 4 Concerning repressions in the State of Dhenkanal Province of Orissa see Gandhi's statement in Chapter III. Quite naturally the Congress ministry in Orissa helped the persecuted subjects of States rather than the persecuting rulers.
- 5 Praja Mandal see note 2 Chapter V.

CHAPTER VII

- 1 Kathiawad Rajkiya Parishad i.e. Kathiawad Political Conference. Kathiawad is situated in the northwest part of the Province of Bombay and contains a number of tiny States. The Rajkiya Parishad is a variant of the Praja Mandal.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER VIII

- 1 Dasera, a Hindu holiday
- 2 The British Government of India
- 3 Diwali, Hindu holidays approximating Christmas holidays among the Christians Presents are given by friends and relatives to one another as part of the festivities Rich men and Princes make special gifts (Ijaras) to the poor and to their subjects respectively
- 4 Political Secretary, Government of India
- 5 A euphemism for the Viceroy who is Governor General of all India
- 6 Possibly there is a typographical error in THE HARIJAN issue from which this is reproduced The date of this letter could more appropriately be 29 11 38 or 29th November, 1938

CHAPTER IX

- 1 Harijan is the new name given by Gandhi to the untouchables The term means "a child of God 'God's people'"

The story of *The Epic Fast* is best told by Pyarelal, Gandhi's secretary, in a book of the same title, Ahmedabad, Gujarat Sahitya Mandir, 1932 May be obtained from Universal Publishing Co., New York City \$1 00

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